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But to say that he reflects these ideas in single passages is one thing, to claim that critics like the late William Wallace, Mr. Bosanquet, and Principal Fairbairn have one and all been mistaken as to the main drift of his contentions, is quite another. When we hear that Mr. Balfour has performed the remarkable feat of working his way from a different starting-point and by a different route to a fundamental agreement with Kant and Hegel, we put it down to the friendly bias of an indulgent critic; but when we further find the great philosophy of the *Kritiques* contrasted as a clumsy and pedantic structure veiled in mediæval obscurity (p. 279) with the light grace and convincing lucidity of the English essayist, the reader will be inclined to ask whether for the moment Professor Seth has not mistaken the picturesque pool among the rocks with its pretty shells and sea-weeds for the great sea which has left it there. It is possible, of course, to prefer the clearness and shallowness of the one to the depth and mystery of the other, but Professor Seth would be the first under other circumstances to condemn so superficial a taste.

With regard to the general contention of Mr. Balfour's book, we may agree with Professor Seth that the test of philosophic truth is that it works; in other words, that life as we know it, or as in our best moments we should wish it to be, can be built upon it. But prior to the application of this test, we must ask ourselves what is life as we know it, and what is it that as human beings we require that it should be. It is because Mr. Balfour applies it without any serious attempt to answer these preliminary questions that his critics find his results so unsatisfactory, and refuse to see underneath his brilliant paradoxes any important contribution to philosophy.

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LONDON.

ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗΣΟΥ. SAYINGS OF OUR LORD. From an Early Greek Papyrus Discovered and Edited, with Translation and Commentary, by Bernard P. Grenfell, M.A., sometime Craven Fellow in the University of Oxford, Fellow of Queen's College; and Arthur S. Hunt, M.A., sometime Craven Fellow in the University of Oxford, Senior Demy of Magdalen College. With two plates. Published for the Egyptian Exploration Fund by Henry Frowde, Amen Corner, London, E. C., 1897. 8vo. Pp. 20.

This pamphlet, containing the eight "sayings of Jesus," recently discovered at Oxyrynchus in Egypt, is a model of conscien-

tious, scholarly editing, putting before the world, in the most convenient form, the text of these sayings and the known facts with reference to their discovery and relations. It is an admirable basis for the combinative forces of scholarship and criticism to go to work upon.

The papyrus containing the sayings belongs to the third century, is $5\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$, is written on both sides, and is considerably damaged. The sayings, as arranged and translated by the editors, are as follows:

(1) . . . and thou shalt see clearly to cast out the mote that is in thy brother's eye (fragmentary).

(2) Jesus saith, Except ye fast to the world, ye shall in nowise find the kingdom of God; and except ye keep the Sabbath, ye shall not see the Father.

(3) Jesus saith, I stood in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was I seen of them, and I found all men drunken, and none found I athirst among them, and my soul grieveth over the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart . . . (fragmentary).

(4) . . . poverty . . . (fragmentary).

(5) Jesus saith, Wherever there are . . . and there is one alone, I am with him. Raise the stone, and there thou shalt find me, cleave the wood, and there am I (fragmentary).

(6) Jesus saith, A prophet is not acceptable in his own country, neither doth a physician work cures upon them that know him.

(7) Jesus saith, A city built upon the top of a high hill and stablished, can neither fall nor be hid.

(8) Almost entirely obliterated.

With respect to these sayings, the following facts may be regarded as certain:

(1) They belong to a period at least a century and a half earlier than any manuscript of the New Testament that we possess.

(2) They are copied from one or more older written documents. This is shown by the fact that each begins with "Jesus says" (*λέγει*), and not with "Jesus said," as would certainly have been the case, had they been original records.

(3) They form part of a work which contained sayings by various authors. Had it contained sayings by Jesus alone, this would have been stated once for all in the title, or at the beginning (*cf.* Stobæus's "Florilegium").

(4) They give us sayings of Jesus in forms older than those that appear in our gospels.

Of the eight sayings, three—(1), (6), (7)—have parallels in our gospels,—all of them in Matthew, two of them in Luke, one of them in Mark and John. With (1) *cf.* Luke vi. 42; Matthew vii. 5. With (6) Matthew xiii. 57; Mark vi. 4; Luke iv. 24; John iv. 44. With (7) Matthew v. 14 (*cf.* vii. 24, 25). The text of (1) and (6) comes closer to that of Luke than to that of Matthew. No. (5), for part of which the editors find a parallel in Matthew xviii. 20, has, as we shall see, an entirely different meaning.

The sayings having no parallel in our gospels are (2), (3), (4), (5), (8). In (2), the phrase "Except ye fast to the world" (*ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον*) is grammatically indefensible (since *νηστεύω* does not take a direct object), gives no reasonable meaning, and violates the Hebrew parallelism, which the saying is plainly meant to exhibit. The editors see that the difficulty lies in the word *κόσμον* (world), which they retain only because they cannot suggest any amendment compatible with the (somewhat obscure) characters of the text. After a careful examination of these in the *fac simile*, it seems to me that the true reading is not *κόσμον*, but *ἱλασμόν*. This sets everything right. The saying then reads: "Except ye fast during the (Day of) Atonement, ye shall in nowise find the Kingdom of God; and unless ye keep the Sabbath (literally, sabbathize during the Sabbath), ye shall not see the Father." Here grammar, sense, and parallelism are perfect. In Leviticus xxv. 9, the LXX call the Day of Atonement *ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ ἱλασμοῦ*, and we need not doubt that it was often named briefly *ὁ ἱλασμός*. That this was the chief fast we know from Josephus, who calls it simply *ἡ τῆς νηστείας ἡμέρα*, the Day of Fasting (Antiq., XIV., iv. 3).

No. (3) is obviously supposed to be uttered by Jesus after his resurrection. This is proved not only by the aorists *ἔστην*, *ᾤφθην*, *εὔρον*, but also by the words *ἐν σαρκί* = in flesh. These he could not have used while yet in the flesh. The doubtful letters at the end, *και . . . βλεις*, almost irresistibly suggest *καὶ ἀμβλεῖς τῷ νῷ αὐτῶν*, "and dull in their understanding." (*Cf.* Matthew v. 6; John i. 10; Matthew xiii. 14 *sq.*) No. (5) is at once the most important and the most puzzling of all the sayings. The first half is fragmentary, the legible words suggesting a sense which leaves it entirely disconnected from the second half, while the latter, as so

disconnected, suggests gross pantheistic notions, foreign not only to the known teachings of Jesus but also to Hebrew and early Christian thought altogether. The following emendations, which leave all the legible letters in their proper places, and supply all the illegible ones, remove both of these difficulties: λέγει Ἰησοῦς, δπου ἐάν ᾧσιν πάντες μισόθου καὶ πιστὸς εἷς ἐστὶν μόνος κάτω, ἐγὼ ἐίμι μετ' αὐτοῦ κτλ. The whole saying will then read: Jesus saith, Wherever all are God-haters, and there is one only believer below [*i.e.*, in the grave], I am with him. Raise the stone [that closes the tomb], and there thou shalt find me, cleave the wood [that closes the compartment containing the body], and there am I. Perhaps we ought to read *κεῖ* for *καί*; but I do not think that this is absolutely necessary.

Nos. (5) and (8) are obviously new sayings, but they are too fragmentary to suggest emendation. In (8) we ought perhaps to read ἀκούεις εἰς τὸ ἓν ὠτίον σου = Thou hearest with thy one ear.

So much for the text. Turning now to what is expressed in it, we find that two of the three sayings having parallels in our gospels contain additions absent from these. No. (6) adds "neither doth a physician work cures upon them that know him." This turns the saying into a complete parallelism, which gives it, as so completed, a strong claim to authenticity. One can easily understand how the second member came to be dropped in the Greek world, where physicians were notoriously in the habit of curing their own acquaintances. No. (7) bears every mark of originality and authenticity. It was probably curtailed to make it fit its place in Matthew's gospel, where the words "and stablished" and "fall" would be irrelevant. The saying may have originally referred to Jerusalem, as likely to tempt capture, and yet to stand a long siege.

In the new sayings there are three things that call for special attention, as throwing new light on early Christian belief.

(1) In (2) we find Jesus maintaining that the observance of Jewish fasts and feasts is essential to salvation. In spite of his well authenticated saying that "the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath" (Mark ii. 27), there is no reason to doubt the correctness of this. Though Jesus, in the later part of his career, no doubt, condemned the formal, Pharisaic mode of observing the Sabbath and other ordinances of the "Mosaic" Law, it is quite clear that he never had any intention of abrogating or rejecting it. (See Matthew v. 17, 18; Luke xvi. 17. In the former passage

we ought to read, I came not to abrogate, but to complete.) The breach with the law was due to Paul.

(2) In (3) it is clearly implied that Jesus, after his resurrection, was not "in flesh" (ἐν σαρκί). This saying, therefore, must have been taken from some ancient gospel, or other document, which, like Paul's epistles (see 1 Corinthians xv. 42-44), did not yet teach the resurrection of the flesh (see Chiappelli, "La Dottrina della Resurrezione della Carne nei primi Secoli della Chiesa," Naples, 1894).

In (5), if my emendations are correct, we meet the notion that Jesus will remain in the grave with the faithful dead. This thought is not altogether foreign to Paul (see Romans vi. 4; Colossians ii. 12), though with him it is rather figurative.

Looking back upon these sayings as a whole, and realizing that the date of the manuscript authorizes no conclusion as to their date, we can hardly fail to recognize that they are drawn from some document or documents representing a very primitive and Jewish form of Christianity, a phase showing no trace of Greek influence. Those of them having parallels in our gospels are almost certainly in form more ancient than these, while some of the others, notably (2), are strongly Ebionitic.

For many reasons, which cannot be here stated, I am strongly inclined to the belief that these sayings were, one and all, copied from the "Gospel according to the Hebrews," which St. Jerome held to be the Hebrew (or Aramaic) original of the Gospel according to Matthew (see Harnack, "Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur bis auf Eusebius," vol. i., pp. 633 *sqq.*), but which was different enough from the latter to induce him to translate it into both Greek and Latin, notwithstanding that an older Greek version of it was current in Egypt in the time of Origen, in the first half of the third century. There are good reasons for believing that this was the only gospel accepted by the Jewish Christians; and, if the Christians of Oxyrynchus were Jews, as seems likely, it would be their only gospel. I may perhaps be allowed to add that I believe this gospel to have been one of the documents used by Luke in the composition of his gospel, and to have been combined with miracle-abounding gospel of Mark (with considerable omissions from both) to form the Gospel according to Matthew.

THOMAS DAVIDSON.